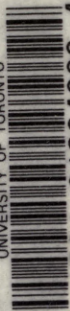


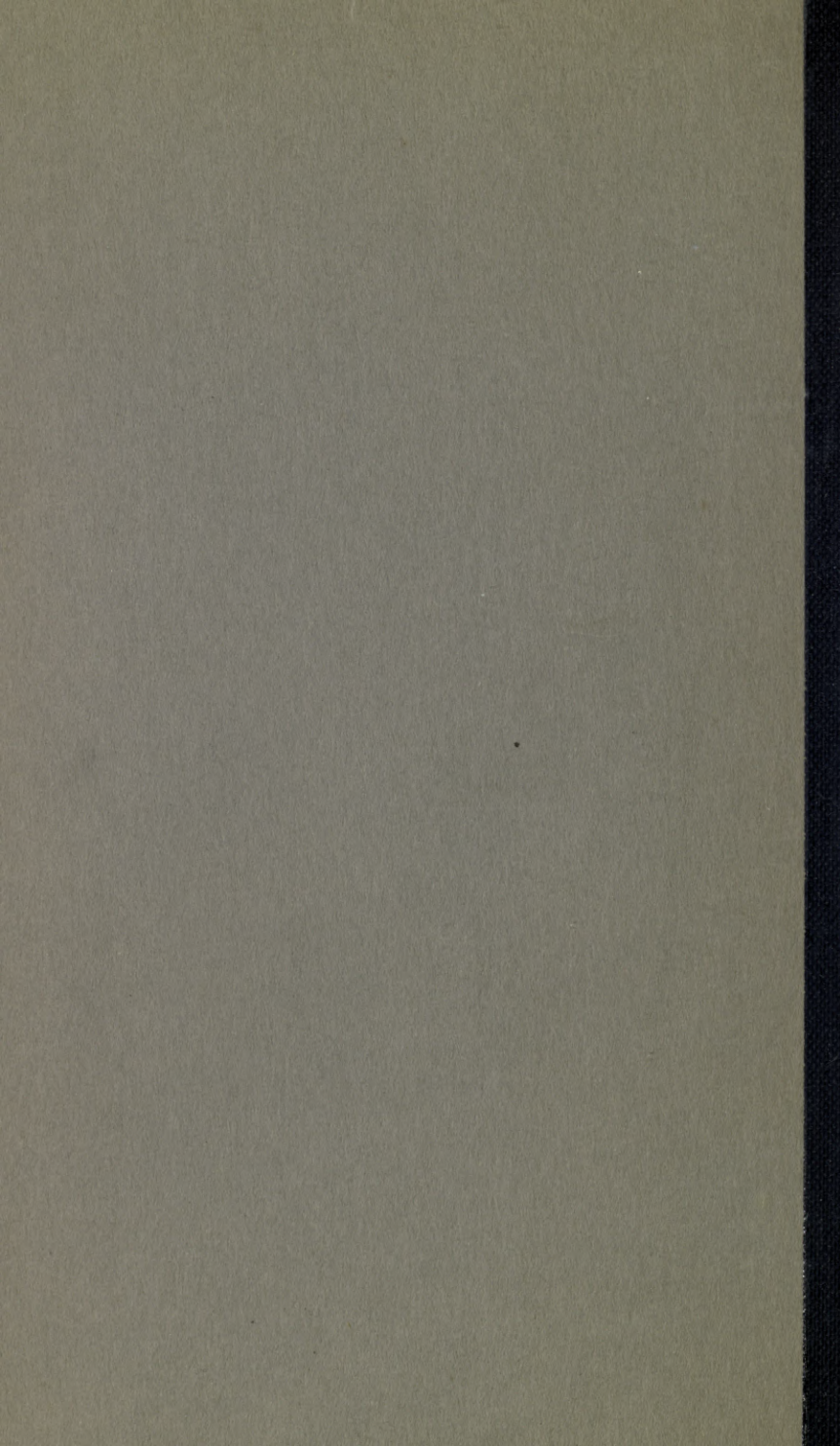
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THE LIFE OF
QUEEN KATHARINE PARR

by
M. A. GORDON



FIRST SEAL OF KENDAL CORPORATION

PRICE 5/6



QUEEN KATHARINE PARR

*from a fine Miniature by Holbein at Strawberry Hill
(as a young woman)*

frontispiece

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LIFE OF
QUEEN KATHARINE PARR

by

Marian Alice
M. A. GORDON

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FOREWORD

THIS is the story of a Kendal woman, who became, in her day, queen of England. I have tried to tell it simply, in the hope that it may interest those who find a historical book difficult to read. Her life brought her into contact with people now famous, who formed the background (and often the foreground) of Tudor times. I have put in as little description as possible, and let the actions of these people display their

and a word of grateful acknowledgment to Mr. T. Pape, historian, for bringing to my notice the account of the early ancestors of the Parr family in Ed. Baines' 'History of Lancashire.'

Books used for Reference

- STRICKLAND, AGNES. *Lives of the Queens of England*. Vol. II.
DAVEY, RICHARD. *The Sisters of Lady Jane Grey*.
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ROGERS, W. H. HAMILTON, F.S.A. *The Strife of the Roses and the Days of the Tudors*.
FLETCHER, C. R. L. *Historical Portraits, 1400 to 1600*.
FARRER, WM. LITT.D. *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendal*.

ERRATA

- page 1 ch. i. omitt "he" in the sentence "another Sir Thomas".
- page 29 ch. vi. for "broughtup" read "brought up".
- page 31 ch. vi. for Note "3" read Note "1". In Note 1 read "This must, I think, have been Catherine of Aragon" as in brackets.
- opposite page 37. Illustration — Read "Arrival of Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor, and pike men etc".
- opposite page 42. Illustration — Read "The following is the inscription on the original print", etc.

P361

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If any of my readers should have any additional information about Katharine, I should be most grateful if they would send it to me, along with the name of the book or documents from which their information is taken, so that it could be included in any future edition for the benefit of the public.

A learned man recently described Katharine Parr to me as: 'One of our best, and one of our least known, queens.'

I should like to add a word of grateful acknowledgment to Mr. T. Pape, historian, for bringing to my notice the account of the early ancestors of the Parr family in Ed. Baines' 'History of Lancashire.'

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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
KATHARINE
STILL A LIVING PRESENCE
AMONGST THE KENDAL HILLS

Printed by Titus Wilson & Son, Ltd.
28 Highgate, Kendal

LIFE OF KATHARINE PARR

CHAPTER I

Childhood at Kendal Castle

KATHARINE PARR was born at Kendal Castle in the year 1513. The Parr family came from Lancashire, from the village of Parr; hence the 'del' Parr = of Parr. The first Parr we hear of is in the reign of Henry III; a family bearing the name of Parr was seated in the township of Parr, which, at that remote time, was probably part of the manor of Knowsley. A Henry del Parr was witness to a Charter of that period. The family were lords of the manor of Parr; and Katharine's father, Sir Thomas Parr, died possessed of 'messuages, lands, woods, and rents of Parr; the manor of Thurnam; and other estates in this (Lancashire) county'. Another Sir Thomas (b. 1405, d. 1434); he married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Tunstall of Thurland (Castle), Lancashire. Their son was Sir William Parr (b. 1434, d. 1483); he married Elizabeth FitzHugh. Their son was Sir Thomas Parr (father of Katharine), who married Maud Green and she became sole heiress to the estate of her father, Sir Thomas Green of Broughton and Green's Norton in Northamptonshire. Katharine was their eldest child.

It was in the year 1508 that Maud Green, at the age of thirteen, became the wife of Sir Thomas Parr. He, at the time that Katharine was born, was Master of the Wards and Controller of the Household to Henry VIII. This necessitated a good deal of time being spent in London; both he and his wife resided frequently at the court, being much in favour with the King, who presented Sir Thomas with a heavy gold chain as a mark of esteem. A son, William, and a daughter, Anne, were afterwards born to them.

Sir Thomas Parr made his will in London on November 7th 1517; he died four days later, leaving his widow and one Doctor Tunstall (who was Master of the Rolls) as his executors. Katharine's mother could not have been more than twenty-two years of age when her husband died, but she did not marry again. She devoted herself to the education and upbringing of her children, and, we may suppose, to the management of the very large estates belonging to her husband and herself. There was a long minority, as little William could only have been about three and a half years old, and Anne eighteen months, when their father died: Katharine was not yet five, but would be able to remember her father.

The widowed mother educated these children so well that their learning became a byword in after years. Katharine both wrote and read Latin fluently. A small book of prayers written by her in Latin can now be seen in the Kendal museum; it was found in an old oak chest in the Castle Dairy. There is extant also a book of prayers written by her in English. She was, moreover, a Greek scholar, and knew and spoke French and some Italian, and possibly Spanish. She possessed beautiful manners, and much tact: this last must have been her greatest asset in dealing with the intricate relationships, step-relationships and petty jealousies arising out of her three marriages to widowers with families of children. In two of these families her step-children were older than herself!

We can think of her, then, as passing her brief childhood — for she was married at the early age of twelve — with tutors and governesses; in hawking and riding; perhaps hunting stags in the outlying hills belonging to the manor of Kendal. Her saddle remains to us, rather a small lady's saddle, beautifully stitched with a curious 'over-seat' stuffed with feathers (a few were coming out) under the soft leather covering. I loved to look at it, as a child, in the old museum in Stricklandgate, but now I cannot find it: it seems to have disappeared — vanished with the bright glint of the sun on Katharine's golden-brown hair, as she cantered her pony up the grassy slopes to the northern gateway of the castle. You can hear the

ring of the horses' feet on the cobble-stones, as she and the tutor and her friend, Elizabeth, and probably the chaplain, followed by the groom, clatter past the huge round buttresses which flanked either side of the moat, where the road crossed it, through the gateway under the portcullis, and into the castle yard. The doves, roused by the noise, would circle round the castle walls, perching on the pointed roofs of the round towers, till finally they dropped, cooing, to the step-ways of their dovecote on the southern wall of the castle, from where you could just catch a glimpse of the sea like a silver thread in the distance. The groom would come forward to help them dismount; and Katharine and Elizabeth, clutching their voluminous skirts, would rush off to find Mama in the still-room, superintending the making of candles, or, it might be, cakes of soap, or drying herbs for medicine or cooking: there was always something interesting going on — so much nicer than that eternal spinning, after supper, at night!

Supper was served early, about five o'clock, in the large hall over the wine vaults. Mama sat at the head of the table with her back to the great fireplace. It was a long table with chairs only at the top end, and forms running down either side for the servants and staff; these sat below the silver salt cellars which marked the places for the seats of the family, above them. The chamberlain, Sir Robert de Chambré,¹ sat above the salts with the family, as did the chaplain and the tutor to the children.

After supper the tables were cleared, and the boarded parts for the servants lifted down, and all the maids brought up their spinning-wheels round the fire. The mistress spun also; and often the chaplain, or one of the

¹ Robert Chambré, son of Walter Chambré, married Jane, one of the four daughters and co-heirs of Thomas Wessington of Hall Head Hall, Strickland Ketel. This house is now called Halhead and is used as a farm; it remained in the de Chambré family for several centuries. This Robert Chambré, who was chamberlain of Kendal Castle during Katharine's lifetime, had a son Walter, who was drowned when going over the sands, probably between Lancaster and Ulverston.

tutors, read a book aloud. Sometimes travelling players were asked to come in and entertain the company; but this was usually when there were guests, in which case there was no spinning. In another part of the castle, there was a weaving-shed with a hand loom.

When Lady Parr called Katharine to her weaving or spinning, she is said to have replied, 'My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, and not spindles and needles.' This was because some one had cast her horoscope, and said she 'was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house'. Katharine heard this, and it seems to have remained with her always as a sort of omen of the fate in store for her. Meanwhile, it made her work the harder at her studies, and, possessing the great gift of a good brain, she was able to assimilate the knowledge which was offered to her.

Elizabeth Bellingham, daughter of Sir Robert Bellingham of Burneside Hall near Kendal, was the friend and companion of her early days, being brought up with her at Kendal Castle and sharing her lessons. Years afterwards, when Katharine became queen, she sent for Elizabeth Bellingham and gave her an appointment in the royal household. She was made 'Mother of the Maids', a post of much responsibility. She married a gentleman of the court, Cuthbert Hutton, from Hutton John near Penrith, where presumably she afterwards lived. She and her husband laid out the terraces at this place after the style of Hampton Court. The same influence inspired the well known clipped trees and trim box walks of another Westmorland house, for the Bellingham family owned Levens Hall, and one of them lived at Helsington Laithes during the early part of Katharine's lifetime. Elizabeth Bellingham was related to Katharine both through the Parr family and through the Strickland family.

CHAPTER II

Lady Brough and Lady Latimer

THE happy days of childhood soon passed. When Katharine was about nine, a marriage was suggested with Lord Dacre's son of Bolton Castle, and at this time, December 17th 1523, Lord Dacre wrote, in a letter to his friend, Lord Scrope: 'Unless he married his son to an heiress of land, does not think he could marry him to so good a stock as Lady Parr's, considering her wisdom and the wise stock of the Grenes whence she is come, and of the Parrs of Kendal.' (Letters and papers of Henry VIII, MSS. collection of Captain E. W. Wakefield.) And girlhood, as such, Katharine never knew; for, at twelve years of age, she was married to a mature widower, Edward, Lord Brough of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire. He lived with Katharine at Gainsborough Manor, about seventeen miles from Lincoln. He had also a house at Catterick in Yorkshire, and it is thought that he had one at Newark.

Lord Brough was distantly related to Katharine through the family of Tallebois (Ivo de Tailbois was the *husband* of one of the first recorded owners of Kendal Castle, and a direct ancestor of Katharine). Lord Brough's second son, Henry, married in 1528 (after his father's second marriage, to Katharine) her friend and kinswoman, Katharine Neville, widow of Sir Walter Strickland of Sizergh. Lord Edward Brough died in 1528 or 1529, leaving Katharine a widow at the age of fifteen. He also left her a handsome fortune.

She returned home to Kendal Castle to find her mother in failing health; but Lady Maud was well enough to arrange and contract for her son, Sir William Parr, a marriage with the sole descendant of Isobel Plantagenet; sister to the King's great-grandfather, Richard, Duke of York. This eventually proved an unhappy marriage, but Maud, Lady Parr, did not live to see it; she died in 1529, and Katharine went to live with her stepson,

Henry Brough, and his wife, the widowed Lady Strickland, at Sizergh Castle. Lady Strickland held from the Crown the wardship of her young son, Walter Strickland, so she remained mistress of Sizergh Castle.

In the year 1530, when Katharine was at Sizergh, Lady William Parr (*née* Bouchier) sent King Henry VIII a present of a coat of Kendal cloth. Cornelius Nicholson, in his pamphlet about the three Royal Charters of Kendal, says that Henry VIII 'in one of his rollicking freaks, enacting the part of one of Robin Hood's outlaws, dressed himself in a "short cote" of the then popular Kendal Green'. One can be allowed to wonder if this was the coat Lady William Parr had sent? Lady William Parr and her very young husband were then residing at Kendal Castle.

In connection with William Parr, Katharine's brother, I quote a letter from him, which illustrates the life of the time, and gives an idea of his character:

'April 20th 1532. Wm. Parr, jun., to Cromwell: Robert Tame, a very insolent person, did not only openly and secretly enter my park at Kendal on various occasions, but killed and stole my game, and spoke many malicious words to Will Redman, my keeper there, who advised him to desist from his unlawful pastime; on which Tame and he made a fray, and the former chanced to be hurt. He proposes not only to trouble Redman, but to sue my cousin, Sir James Laborne, for abetting him, who had nothing to do with it. He is maintained in this by my Lord of Cumberland and Sir Thomas Clifford for the malice they bear my cousin Laborne. Whereas it has been the ancient custom in the barony of Kendal to administer justice in all strife, as my grandfather, father, and uncle, Sir William Parre, always did, now it is that sundry wealthy and malicious persons, for the ill will they bear my Lord of Richmond and me, infringe the said custom, and send up poor people to London who cannot afford it. I am so molested with their exclamations that I am compelled to write to you for a remedy, hoping whenever such malicious persons repair to London, they may be remitted to my cousin Laborne, who is deputy steward there.' (These were the Laybournes of Cunswick Hall.) (Letter of Sir William Parr, junior, to Cromwell (Thomas), MSS. Collection of Captain E. W. Wakefield.)

It is thought that during her visit to Sizergh in 1530 Katharine embroidered the magnificent white satin bedspread and toilet cover which can still be seen there, as

a present to her friend and relative, Lady Strickland. It was here she met John Neville, Lord Latimer, a relation of Lady Strickland, who was a Neville of Thornton Briggs. He had been married twice before, the first time to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave of Edenhall, and secondly to Dorothy de Vere, sister of the Earl of Oxford. She had died in 1526 or 1527, leaving two children.

The date of Katharine's marriage to Sir John Latimer is uncertain; but it is thought that she was under twenty years of age when she undertook, for the second time, to bring up a family of step-children. This time there were only two — John and Margaret Neville. I think that, as she superintended their studies, she must have continued to work herself, for, by the time she came to be queen of England, she was acknowledged to be one of the best educated, and even learned women of her time. She must have had a love of knowledge for itself, or she could not have instilled it into so many young minds in such a way as to make them openly grateful to her afterwards.

Lord Latimer disliked the sequestration of church property and the suppressing of the monasteries; he probably disliked Cromwell (who was at the bottom of it) even more. At the dissolution of the monasteries in 1535 we have an account of the valuation made, presumably for the dissolution, in regard to the Leper Hospital near Kendal. This was at the place now called Spittal on the Grayrigg road, about a mile from the Town Hall. Apparently, William Harryngton was keeper, or master, there. What happened to the lepers, and who looked after them, after it was shut up, we do not know. There is still extant a letter of Aske's, lamenting the loss of the hospitals and schools attached to the monasteries. He says that so many poor people will have nowhere they can stay. Presumably the workhouses were few and far between. In connection with the Pilgrimage of Grace, its leaders expressed the popular discontent at these suppressions. Aske gave voice to the general indignation. 'One of the notable beauties of the land,' he said, 'had

been destroyed; property which had been employed in almsgiving and entertainment of travellers was engrossed by the King and the "farmers"¹ of abbey lands. The abbeys of western Yorkshire had supplied spiritual refreshment to the untaught dalesmen; they had given hospitality to traders who went up and down the passes between Yorkshire and Lancashire.' The insurgents re-peopled Sawley Abbey with its abbot and monks. But the disastrous end of the rebellion only made the dissolution of the greater houses inevitable. The Abbot of Sawley was hanged at Lancaster; the Abbot of Whalley suffered in sight of his own abbey; the Abbots of Jervaulx and Fountains were hanged at Tyburn. Jervaulx Abbey was dismantled and the lead stripped from its roofs; Sir Arthur Darcy suggested to Cromwell that the abbey would be a suitable stable for the royal stud of mares! The quire of Bridlington Priory and the shrine of St. John Thweng² were pulled down in May 1537; the Duke of Norfolk took away the valuables of the monastery in plate, vestments, and kind. This vengeance for the rebellion anticipated, in several of the greater Yorkshire monasteries, the final act of suppression. Aske was eventually put to death as a result of the insurrection called the Pilgrimage of Grace. Lord Latimer, too, got mixed up in 1536 with this insurrection. He even became one of its leaders.

They were anxious days for Katharine. But their supporters became so numerous and powerful that the Duke of Norfolk (brother of the Queen Katharine Howard), who was empowered by Henry VIII to put down the rebellion, thought it more desirable to negotiate than to fight! The 'Pilgrims' (being north-country) stuck to their guns (or demands) and argued. Henry hated being argued with: he says in his reply that 'he is astonished that ignorant people should go about to instruct him in matters of theology, who somewhat had

¹ To "farm out" meant to take rent for land and buildings which one did not cultivate oneself.

² Brother of Sir Willian Thweng of Helsington Laithes and Reston Hall, Staveley.

been noted to be learned in what the true faith should be! He also angrily complains 'of their presumption in wanting to mend his laws, as if, after being their king eight and twenty years, he did not know how to govern the realm! Eventually a free pardon was arranged, with a promise that their grievances should be discussed in Parliament: the pardon was dated December 9th 1536. In February the insurrection broke out again; but Lord Latimer did not join it. We can believe that Katharine's advice would be to keep out of quarrels with the King! This time seventy-three persons were executed, including Sir Stephen Hamerton, whose only daughter was betrothed to the young Walter Strickland: several of the Neville family were executed among the seventy-three. Altogether Katharine and her husband went through a disturbing, as well as a dangerous, time.

At this period we are told that Sir George Throgmorton, husband of Katharine's aunt, had a difference of opinion with Thomas Cromwell about the boundaries of their properties, which ran alongside one another. Cromwell endeavoured to bring about the ruin of his neighbour by accusing him of having denied the King's supremacy, which at this time Henry was upholding by calling himself the head of the Church and the Defender of the Faith. Sir George Throgmorton was put in prison. Lady Throgmorton, Katharine's aunt, sent one of her sons to Sir William Parr at Kendal Castle for safety, and persuaded her niece to try to get the King to release her husband. This Katharine did, choosing a time when Henry was in one of his 'good moods'. It is to be remembered that the position of Katharine's brother at court gave her the *entrée* at all times to the court circle. A prose document in the Throgmorton family clearly states in 1540 that 'Sir George was released through the influence of his kinswoman, Katharine Parr (then Lady Latimer), and advised with by the King, at her suggestion, about Cromwell, immediately before the arrest of that minister. It was from Katharine Henry learned the extent of Cromwell's rapacity, and the real state of the public mind as to his administration.' This incident is recorded in Brown Willis's history of the

Throgmorton family, drawn up from their archives in the year 1730. It is confirmed by Pollino, who says that Henry had secret consultation with a noble cavalier called 'Roberto Trogmorton' in order to bring about the fall of Cromwell. A queer side-light is thrown on the wrong done by Cromwell to Sir William Parr's wife, who was a Bouchier and heiress of the last Earl of Essex (and further back still a Plantagenet). To the horror of all the Bouchiers and Parrs, this title was given to Cromwell! This was all the more offensive because the second title of the Bouchiers was 'Lord Cromwell', they being the sole representatives of the extinct line of that name. Thomas Cromwell certainly meant it to be assumed that, because he bore that name, he was a descendant of the old Lords Cromwell. As a matter of fact, Thomas Cromwell is said to have been first a blacksmith, afterwards becoming one of the secretaries to the King — an upstart of the worst kind, of whom, luckily, Katharine, by her advice to Henry, was able to free the country.

The will of Lord Latimer, Katharine's second husband, is dated September 12th 1542 — the year in which Henry VIII beheaded his fifth queen, Katharine Howard — but it was not proved until the eleventh day of the following March. It is thought probable that he died early in 1543. He bequeathed to Katharine the manors of Nunmonkton and Hamerton. He also left all the rents and profits of certain land for a period of forty years to endow a grammar school at a place called Well; and to pray for him, the founder. This was quite a usual request from founders of schools, especially those who belonged to the older, or Roman, church. We remember that St. Paul's School in London was founded by Dean Colet, and I believe that over one of the mantel-pieces is carved in stonework: 'Lift up your little white hands in prayer for me, who pray always for you.' Lord John Latimer, who died in London, was interred in St. Paul's cathedral.

After his death, the house of Katharine soon became the resort of such men as Coverdale (the translator of the Bible), Latimer (bishop), and Parkhurst, and

'sermons were daily preached in her chamber of state by those who were desirous of restoring the practice of the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity' — this is quoted from Échard.

One has to remember that Katharine was dowered by providence with an unusual brain for a woman; she was accounted well read and learned even amongst men of letters and professors. She was also extraordinarily beautiful. From one source and another we gain the information that she was small, only about five feet three inches in height, had exceedingly small feet and hands, had red-gold hair, and expressive eyes, rather almond shaped. She appears to have had a very serene face, curiously suggestive of a nun. This is explained when one realizes that over a long period of years, and, in fact, throughout her three marriages, she continued the practice of writing down her prayers, in English and also in Latin. Two of these books, one in English and one in Latin, I believe to be still extant. She must have had a serenity of mind to deal with the many difficult occasions in which her life placed her, a composure of manner, and also an outlook, which could only have been accounted for by an inner constancy of purpose. Lastly, she was exceedingly rich: both her husbands left her large fortunes and land, and neither of them 'tied these up', that is to say, they were not entailed.

CHAPTER III

Seymour or the King

IF Katharine's learning and piety appealed to those men who were struggling to reform the Church of England, so also her beauty and wealth appealed to another type of character, who was endeavouring to aggrandize his position in this world. Very soon after she became a widow for the second time, she was sought in marriage by the brother of the late Queen Jane Seymour and uncle to the infant heir of England, Edward VI. This was Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards Lord High Admiral of England, but at that time Gentleman-of-the-Bedchamber to King Henry VIII. And in 1540 he asked and received from the King a lease for twenty-one years of various lands and tithes, and also of the house and land at Helsington Laithes: the deed is now at Sizergh Castle. Putting oneself in Sir Thomas Seymour's position, as supplicant for the hand of Katharine, it is easy to see why he wished to have this fine old house to offer her. He knew that it had been part of the manor of Kendal Castle, and that it had belonged to the Rooses, who were Katharine's direct ancestors. It was also quite near to the Strickland property at Sizergh and, as we have remarked, Lady Strickland (at this time Lady Henry Brough) was a cousin of Katharine, and had been her hostess for three or four years between her two first marriages. Obviously Seymour, by renting Helsington Laithes, would have a *pied à terre* in Westmorland conveniently near to Katharine when she stayed either with her brother at Kendal Castle, or the Stricklands at Sizergh.

It would seem that the Seymours were amongst the political leaders of the anti-papal or reform party. This lends colour to the suggestion that Sir Thomas Seymour may have attended some of the religious meetings at Katharine's house at Hamerton. If so, it was in curious contrast to his later conduct when he refused flatly to

attend either morning or evening prayers in the chapel of his own castle at Sudeley!

In considering Seymour, it is necessary to remember that all chroniclers state that he had a magnificent presence; he was tall, well built, and exceedingly good-looking. The only remark, which could be called at all disparaging, is, that one observer adds 'if somewhat empty in speech'! He must have been at all times, and in all circumstances, very sure of himself; nor can one think that doubts of his own ultimate success ever entered his mind until the time when he was actually on the scaffold. That he had ability cannot be questioned: he was able to lead his troops in a victorious campaign in the Netherlands, and turned, almost at once, from that to take the post of Lord High Admiral, to command a fleet and bring it back, after all its battles, victoriously to port in England. It is not every man who can tackle his enemy equally well by land or by water! It shows a great power of adjustment to circumstances, especially when one remembers that Seymour's usual occupation was assisting King Henry to dress! In summing up the man's character, we have to remember that he was one of a family where it may truthfully be said that they were all exceedingly good-looking and notoriously immoral. One has to think of his sister, Jane Seymour, Henry's third queen, her coquetry at the French court, her unusual good looks. And then one thinks of Somerset, Seymour's elder brother, with his ruthless tongue, so visible in his letters, allied to something akin to double-dealing; yet, again, an intrepid and competent commander-in-chief when occasion demanded, as at the Battle of Pinkie in the reign of Edward VI. His conduct both as Controller of the little King Edward VI and in dealing with Katharine, when she was the King's widow and came to claim her place at court, was heartless.

Taking all this into consideration, Seymour's family were obviously time servers, hard, but handsome; and Thomas, himself, was no exception to the rule. He was, moreover, a 'royal lover', that is to say, he made love to Katharine with gusto, not in the quiet, rather business-like way in which her two older husbands had wooed

her. She was a lovely, gifted woman: Seymour was hot-blooded, impatient, as his letters show. Even at this time, before she married Henry VIII, she had promised to marry Seymour and the correspondence (or copies of it) is still extant. It reveals that he had begged and besought her before she finally decided, even then.

One sees her riding over the fields from Sizergh by the ancient bridle-path, still called the Lovers' Lane, over the weed-grown road by Berryholme, past the original old church at Helsington, across Whetstone Lane, and down the muddy bit of bridle-road which comes out near the present house called Shenstone, and on to the big open pastures, where their horses could stretch to a canter, before reaching Helsington Laithes. Then, I think, he showed her the old house: she would want to see the room that had been the monks' chapel about thirty years before; she would admire the new plaster work on the drawing-room wall, designed for the Bellinghams only a few years previously. They would plan (or rather Katharine would) to put the chapel back to its old use, and how to do up all the rooms, and to come to stay on short visits together after they were married.

But, alas for lovers! 'Man proposes, but the King disposes.' And Henry wanted Katharine. He had seen her at court often before, and knew her sister, Anne Lady Herbert (afterwards Countess of Pembroke). That she was so good-looking he remembered; that she was rich he found out on inquiring carefully into her affairs, discreetly, and not too publicly; that another man wanted her — that clinched the matter: was he not king? He would have her. So he set about the matter. No time must be lost, or Seymour might get her, and Henry not only lose his bride, but have to see his desired one wafted before his very eyes by a younger, and (though he could not admit it except to himself) much better-looking man! That would be unbearable. He wrote to Katharine. She answered; but in her answer she prevaricated. He sent for her to come for a personal interview. This interview was to have been, I believe, in London; but we have good reason for thinking that Henry may have

come north to woo his bride. She was not very 'forward', like most of his other ladies; in fact, she was not very keen; her natural wisdom hesitating at a step which had meant death to the other wives she had known personally. Miss Ida Strickland tells me there is a persistent family tradition at Sizergh that King Henry VIII stayed at Casterton. In 1472 the manor of Casterton had been handed over by Margaret, Countess of Richmond (Henry VII's mother), to Sir William Parr, Sir John Parr, Sir John Pylkington, etc. (copy of the deed in Farrer's *Records of Kendal*, Vol. 2). This William Parr married a Fitz Hugh, and was Katharine's grandfather. The Countess of Richmond was Henry VIII's grandmother, so it is very likely that Henry arranged with his Comptroller of the Household, young Sir William Parr, Katharine's brother, to stay at Casterton. There is also a local tradition in the Melling district that Katharine stayed at Robert Hall, Melling. It may well be she wished to meet Henry quietly, away from the household at Sizergh; but here, again, Strickland tradition steps in and tells us that Henry came over from Casterton to Sizergh and hunted in Brigsteer Park with Henry Latimer and his wife, late Lady Strickland, when Katharine was staying at Sizergh.

Wherever the interview took place, it must have bordered on the ironical. To be sought for to (avowedly) discuss matrimony with a man, who had only just got rid of (by beheading) his fifth wife, must have seemed to Katharine an extraordinary 'suit'! After the usual formalities and compliments, he pressed his suit upon her. She demurred: indeed, could she do less than demur when her head was in jeopardy? He became still more insistent; and she, hurried out of her previous decorum, let slip, 'Oh, Sire, it were better to be your mistress than your wife!' — the truth, and out at last. Dismayed by her own recklessness, Katharine expects a sharp retort; but no, Henry only pushes his suit more fervently. He recalls to her the plight of his children, all three in different establishments, badly managed, and the children themselves not too well brought up. He pleads with Katharine to come and put all these things in order,

and to make his children all friends together, under her guidance. He tells her he has heard of her success with the Brough step-children and the two Nevilles: will she deny him the help he so sorely needs, and will she withhold from his children all that might make a home for them? This breaks Katharine's defences down, and she promises to consider his offer.

She goes away and thinks, and thinks. She says afterwards of this decision, 'You do not know through what searchings I have passed in myself, before I could make up my mind; or by what strange ways I was led.' Katharine, always half a nun, and yet very much a woman, is now asked to give up the only real, warm, human affection she has so far encountered, for what? An old, fat, ugly, coarse man, renowned for his violent temper and his unrestrained lasciviousness, suffering from a loathsome disease: it did not seem a very appetizing offer, even with the crown thrown in! But there were the children, their future, and with their future perhaps England's, too? Little Edward, delicate, reserved, by nature good, straight of mind and heart, a lovable character, she could help him; she knew she could; and Mary, rather a dull girl, but dutiful, anxious to do her best; and then Elizabeth. More went to the make-up of Elizabeth's character: Katharine was not so sure about her. Anyway, she could only try. By now her thoughts were entirely with the motherless children, all to be prepared for so important a life, each to be educated for a throne; and, as it turned out, all three to sit on it, one after the other.

Seymour, who might have been expected to go to her, and beg her to keep her promise and marry him (more especially as he had it in writing), who, had he been some men, would have been twice as ardent when he found a rival about to usurp his property, Seymour withdrew: we hear nothing of him at this juncture. Being attached to the King's person at court, he must have known Henry's intentions, and dare not interfere with them, lest he find himself removed to more silent spheres!

So, when Katharine most needed some one who loved her to lean on and advise her, that help was lacking:

only solitude all round her. The serenity of her well ordered mind had been much disturbed by all that had passed, and she would find it difficult to collect her faculties and lay out the case to make a reasoned judgment. The prophecy of the horoscope pointed cold grey fingers towards her destiny; only her heart played truant and galloped forward seeking for escape, each time retreating as it met the bars of a cage, a cage of gold.

'I cannot,' her heart said. 'Give me love — warm, true love, and Seymour.'

'You must,' said Fate, 'or the King will do you a damage, possibly kill you, if you thwart him. And think, you will have power, endless power, if you educate and bring up the three children nearest the throne. With this power you can do so much good to them, and the whole nation.'

Here we must remember that she, like every one else in England, had "taken sides" in the King versus Pope controversy. Her sympathies were, perhaps passionately, with the reform party in the Church. She also disagreed with the viciousness of Henry's tactics in the matter. If she were queen, she could assuage this, and possibly be of some help to the victims. She would have more power to help the translators and leaders of the movement, for whom she had a tremendous admiration. Fate was winning. The cords that bound her to Seymour were loosening. And then, when she thought about it, she knew the King would not allow them to marry as long as he himself desired her for his wife. Seymour's job was at court: to hold Seymour as his wife should, she must be with him, also at court. It would be impossible: she knew that. But, if she married Henry, what of her position with Seymour afterwards? Her heart reeled at the picture. Could she keep him at a sufficient distance? Could she count on herself to rebuff his advances? And, if she did, would whispering tongues and prying eyes not poison the King's ears with stories of lovers' affection, even if the facts did not exist? Night after night, lying sleepless, she turned these things

over in her mind. 'The choice was hard to make; perhaps the most difficult decision a woman has ever been called upon to make; and, in the end, Fate drove her into it. The King had checkmated her: there was no other way.

Barely three months after Lord Latimer's will was proved, Archbishop Cranmer granted a (special) licence for the marriage of Henry with 'Katharine Latymer', dated July 10th 1543. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in the 'Queen's closet, or chapel', at Hampton Court. Princess Mary (afterwards queen) and Princess Elizabeth (afterwards Queen Elizabeth) were present, also the King's niece, Lady Mary Douglas. Katharine was supported by her sister, Mrs. Herbert (afterwards Countess of Pembroke); her beloved friend, Katharine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk; Ann, Countess of Hertford (afterwards of Somerset); and Lady Jane Dudley. The King was attended by his brother-in-law, the Earl of Hertford (afterwards Somerset); Lord John Russell, Privy Seal; Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Pensioners; Henry Howard (one of the Norfolks); Richard Long; Thomas Darcy; Edward Baynton (husband of the late Queen's sister); Anthony Denny and Thomas Speke, Knights; and William Herbert, brother-in-law of his bride. Amongst the unpublished manuscripts in the State Paper Office is a letter from Sir Thomas Wriothesley, apparently to the Duke of Norfolk, in which he said: 'The King's Majesty was married on Thursday last to my Lady Latymer, a woman, in my judgment, for certain wisdom and gentleness most meet for his highness; and sure I am his Majesty had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she is. The Lord grant them long life and much joy together.'

The University of Cambridge was delighted at the marriage of the King with Katharine Parr and writes to tell him so. Katharine continually corresponded with the University whilst she was queen consort, and later on was able to do them a signal service in preserving the endowment of the university from the avaricious fingers

of her husband, who had planned some form of disestablishment for all the colleges, after the pattern of the disestablishment of the monasteries. The funds would have gone into the royal pocket.

On the day of her wedding, Katharine presented to Princess Mary a pair of gold bracelets set with rubies, and the gift in money of £25. This present to Mary was repeated on September 26th. A present was also given to Princess Elizabeth. Under Katharine's influence Henry VIII restored his daughters to their rightful place in the succession to the throne. They were also brought back to court, and gradually drawn together under the friendly roof of their stepmother. This did not all happen at once, because there had been disagreements between them, largely owing to the way they were treated by their various stepmothers. They both had 'governesses', that is to say, ladies in charge, not only of their tutors, but of all the servants in their retinue. It would seem that these persons, or governesses, had neglected their duties to the young princesses and that neither their education, as regards their studies, nor their upbringing and moral training, were receiving proper attention. Katharine altered all this, and personally supervised their studies and also those of the young Prince Edward. She chose their tutors for them, and encouraged them to translate portions of Scripture, which they put into both Latin and French: one of these was bound in a little book and presented as a gift to Queen Katharine.

After Katharine's marriage to King Henry VIII, her life falls into four periods. The first lasted from the time of her marriage, July 1543, to July 1544; the second period, from July 1544 to the end of September 1544, consists of her own regency during the King's absence, fighting in France, during which time she ruled the kingdom; the third period runs from October 1st 1544, when the King returned to rule, to the time of his death in January 1547; the fourth period is made up of her brief widowhood and her fourth marriage, to Sir Thomas Seymour, closing with her own death in September 1548.

CHAPTER IV

Queen of England

HENRY'S reign seems to have been a season of plotting. No sooner was Katharine married, than Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, assisted by Dr. London, proceeded to prepare a 'book of informations' denouncing every person in Windsor suspected of holding opinions varying from Henry's 'six articles' (of faith). This Dr. London had been employed by Cromwell in the suppression of the monasteries, and is reported as a most 'unprincipled man'. They asked Henry to sign a commission for searching all the houses in Windsor for books written in favour of the New Learning, as it was called. Henry stipulated that the Castle of Windsor should be exempt from the search! Perhaps he knew books might be found in the rooms of the Queen, which would give colour to an action of this kind? Four men were accused; one cleared himself, but three were burnt. It is thought Katharine could see the smoke of the fires from the windows of the palace; and this was within the month usually called the 'honeymoon'! (Dr. London next denounced Drs. Haines and Symonds of Windsor, and several members of the royal household. The only evidence was contained in inference and fake statements which Dr. London had suborned Pekham, Clerk of the Court, to introduce into the evidence he had taken at the trials of the recent victims. The Queen, having full information of this, sent one of her most courageous servants into court to expose the iniquity of this plot. Pekham was arrested, his papers seized, and the whole thing laid before the King. London and Symonds were sent for and examined on oath, and, not being aware their letters had been intercepted, fully committed themselves, were found guilty of perjury, and sentenced to be placed on horseback with their faces to the horses' tails, with papers on their foreheads setting forth their perjury, and set on the pillory at Windsor. Katharine sought no further

vengeance; and the disgrace of his punishment is said to have caused Dr. London's death.)

Perhaps to give her a sense of security, Katharine appointed her uncle, Lord Parr of Horton, to be Lord Chamberlain; her sister, Lady Herbert, to be one of her ladies-of-the-bedchamber; and her stepdaughter, Margaret Neville (afterwards Lady Tyrwhitt) one of her maids-of-honour. Her brother, Sir William Parr of Kendal, was created Earl of Essex in the right of his wife, and also, later on, Marquis of Northampton. He had previously been made Baron Parr and Roos of Kendal. Here we see that Katharine brings forward the old family name of Roos and, with it, its descent from the Bruces' royal blood of Scotland. Her cousins, the Throgmortons, obtained various posts in Henry's household. Altogether, Katharine collected a number of honest and reliable people to surround her person, and serve her husband. Her friendship with the royal children ripened into real affection as time went on. Mary was only by about five years Katharine's junior in age and, being fond of books and languages, the royal ladies had much in common, as their letters evince. Lady Jane Grey, only about eight years old, had an appointment at court, and was always greatly attached to the Queen, who cast a practised eye over her studies.

All these young people (except Mary) imbibed much love for the principles of the Reformation. They were fighting for the three freedoms then, as we have fought now; but they were freedoms of mind and spirit, greater things than the freedom of the body or person. About this time, 1544, Katharine wrote her celebrated work, *The Lamentations of a Sinner*, which is considered one of the finest specimens of English composition of that era. Into 120 miniature pages she collects the elements of all the sermons levelled against papal supremacy. She is nearly as severe on those who call themselves 'gospellers' and who separate faith and works, as she is on the pope, and she evidently considers them in equal, or greater, error. We have to try to remember, and sort out from the 'seething pot' of the Reformation, that it was the *government* of the Roman Catholic Church, *not* the

essentials of the Roman Catholic religion, that Henry was labouring to overthrow. Henry VIII, whatever his faults in precipitating the burning and killing of reformers, did try to keep a middle course between the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church and the gospels of Martin Luther, who publicly returned thanks to God for 'having delivered the Protestant Church from that offensive King of England'!

One of the most famous preachers of this period was Bernard Gilpin of Crook, or rather of Kentmere. He was the fourth son of Edwin Gilpin and grandson of Captain William Gilpin, killed at the Battle of Bosworth Field. He entered Queen's College, Oxford, in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII and was afterwards moved to Christ Church, being one of the first scholars on that foundation. He was 'learned, pious, charitable, and indefatigable in doing good'. He was offered the bishopric of Carlisle by Queen Elizabeth, but refused it. He preached before Edward VI concerning the robbery of the churches.

Another ecclesiastic connected with Westmorland, a brilliant scholar, and a preacher whose name Katharine would know well, and whom she would most likely have met when she was at Cambridge, was vicar of the Kendal parish church and called James Pilkington, B.D. The Pilkingtons were old family friends of the Parrs in Lancashire. He took his first degree in 1539, another in 1542, and yet another in 1550, in which year little Edward VI presented him with the living of Kendal. In 1554, under Queen Mary, he had to fly from England; but he returned in 1558 and was appointed rector of one of the colleges at Oxford and also a member of a commission to revise the Book of Common Prayer. At the age of forty, he was elected first Protestant bishop of Durham. He died there in 1575, aged fifty-five years.

Meanwhile, the life of Henry and Katharine could not be set against its true background without including the stress and strain of Border warfare, which flared up into something akin to a campaign when the Scots sent an army, reputedly 15,000 strong, and met the English at Sollom Moss near Carlisle. Sir Thomas Wharton, of

Wharton Hall near Kirkby Stephen, was leading the English troops: he was Deputy Warden of the West Marches under Lord Scrope. His troops amounted to 1,400 horse and foot, according to old papers. In the *History of Northumberland*, it is recorded that 'the six nags of the Lord, two horses of Thomas Wharton, thirty-three horses of the Lord's servants, and four horses of his trumpettes were allowed to run summer and winter in Acklington Park'. Here we see that Sir Thomas Wharton might find his duties would take him to the eastern side of the Border and that he kept horses in Northumberland to be ready for any emergency. At Sollom Moss the English managed to obtain a signal victory. This broke the Scottish king's heart and he died a month later, leaving his infant daughter, Mary, to inherit his throne, and afterwards to be known as Mary, Queen of Scots.

Henry meditated a marriage between his son, Prince Edward (Edward VI), and this Princess Mary, and, in order to prepare the way for it, sent for the Scottish prisoners to come up to London. There is yet extant a letter from Sir Thomas Wharton to King Henry VIII, giving an account of the prisoners sent up by him, with the names of their 'takers', and an original letter from the King about the ransom of the said prisoners to be given to their 'takers': of all of these I have copies in Nicholson and Burn's *History of Westmorland*, but they are too long to quote. The dates are December 10th 1542. Wharton writes first from Newcastle, then from Carlisle, where he was Captain of the Town and Castle. Henry writes from Hampton Court. In 1543, only three months later, a long list follows of gentlemen 'called up' for Border service (forty days' limit) with the numbers of their men and horses. Many of them are the names of families still living in Westmorland. The list finishes with 'Thomas Roos, two horse'. One thought the Roos family had died out, but one old account says that a Thomas Roos, son of Thomas and Joan Roos owned two houses and land in 'Wydderslack' at that time. From the Roos family Katharine Parr was, of course, descended. Young Sir Walter Strickland took a large contingent of

tenants from Sizergh. It was he who had been engaged to Sir Stephen Hamerton's daughter, but it is said she died at Sizergh on the night before the wedding was to have taken place.

In this same year of 1543, Lord Parr of Kendal (Katharine's brother), then Warden of the Marches, chose Warkworth as his headquarters as 'the place moost holsme and clere from all enfections' (apparently plague was rife in the district), and he writes from Newcastle on May 24th: 'I am determyned for a tyme to make myne abode at the kingis majesties castell of Warkwourthe,¹ but foure myles at the most from Alnewik, the whiche being somme-thing decayed and out of reperation, I have partelie caused to bee apperelled and put in redines, and my preparations to be conveyed thidre which I doubt not shall be fullie perfourmed and furnished within thies eight daies, whiche done, I intende to repaire thidre and there to reside and from thens to remove to the castell of Alnewik as the infections or infirmities there shall sease, and th'occasions shall require.'

With this interpolation of Border warfare and its effect on the destinies of Mary, Queen of Scots, and little King Edward, we now come to the end of the first part of Katharine's married life as queen.

¹ Warkworth was the home of a branch of the Roose family, and from it came Robert Roose (son of the great "Fussan" and King William Lion's daughter Isabel) who married our Margaret Brus, Lady of the Manor and Baroney of Kendal Castle.

CHAPTER V

Katharine's Regency

THE next chapter of Katharine's life opens when Henry prepared to go to war in France. This must not be confused with the Field of the Cloth of Gold, which was in Henry's reign, but more than twenty years earlier (1520). Henry says he is now 'undertaking a voyage-royal into the realm of France against the French king', and, from the manuscript State papers and the acts of the Privy Council, 'the King's Majesty has resolved that the Queen's Highness shall be Regent in His Grace's absence and that His Highness's process shall pass and bear test in her name'. In the Queen's commission of regency, Hertford (*i.e.* Somerset) was to be her lieutenant, if she needed such assistance. For state papers she signed: Katharine, the Queen Regent. K.P. The K.P. stands for Katharine Parr and is attached to all her *regal* signatures. The Privy Council entry which is quoted above is dated July 7th 36, Henry VIII, and on July 14th Henry crossed the sea from Dover to Calais in a ship with sails of cloth of gold!!

The next day he took the field in person, 'armed at all points', on a great horse, and rode out of Calais attended by Sir William Herbert, the Queen's brother-in-law (he married her sister Anne). William Parr of Kendal, called Earl of Essex (in right of his wife, a descendent of the Plantagenets) was chief captain of the men-at-arms. (I wonder if he had Kendal pike-men with him?) Apparently Spanish forces were fighting with the English, and were encamped on the other side of Boulogne, which they were besieging: these Spaniards acted under King Henry's orders, according to historians. The siege was a fierce one, and lasted some time.

Meanwhile we must go back to Katharine in England, where she resided most of the time at Hampton Court, along with all three of the King's children. Most especially Henry cherished the son, who had cost his

mother's life, and represented the fulfilment of Henry's dearest ambition. Perhaps because the Earl of Somerset was the child's uncle (being the eldest brother of Jane Seymour and also of the Lord High Admiral, Thomas Seymour, who had aspired to the hand of Katharine and was afterward to marry her), he, Somerset, was made Controller of little Edward's household. Fortunately the actual supervision of the child fell, at an early age, to one Andrew Board, or Borde, his tutor. It seems he was a graduate of Montpellier (at that time the great French medical school), and wrote books on health. Henry VIII who (persuaded by Thomas Linacre), started the Royal College of Physicians, appears to have employed Andrew Boorde as doctor-tutor to his much loved only son, little Edward VI. Probably Boorde's rather modern views on sanitation, and his book the *Breaviarie of Health* recommended him to Henry as a sensible person to look after the motherless child. In his charge the child was sent to Pevensey, probably for the sea air, as his lungs were never strong. They lived at the old Mint House there, and one can still see the actual rooms they both occupied and the sitting-room in which they worked at his lessons. Outside, almost in sight of the windows of this room, is Pevensey Castle, standing on the other side of the road, between the house and the sea. Its fine round towers would be battlemented then, and a watch kept night and day, for it was one of the Cinque Ports.

But because of the war in France, Katharine would think it safer to have the heir apparent at Hampton Court, ready for a proclamation, if ill should befall his father. She also had Mary (only a few years younger than herself, *i.e.* about thirty) and Elizabeth, about thirteen or fourteen then, and in disgrace with her father, who had refused to see her for nearly a year. What it was all about we do not know; but the reader can make a shrewd guess that that rather precocious young woman had been caught flirting with Thomas Seymour — even then! At any rate, Katharine had them all together and supervised their education, instructing them herself in many ways regarding their conduct and upbringing.

Little Edward's letters to her betray a real affection and respect for her personal qualities.

Then a bombshell broke—not the war—but *the plague* came to that part of England; so Katharine took all three children and their households away from London into the country, to Ocking. There she arranged what we call 'isolation': she issued a mandate to the Mayor and Sheriffs that 'no person in whose house the plague had been, or who may have been with any infected person, or who may have lived near any place where the plague had been, should go to court or suffer any attendants on the Court to enter his house, where the infection is, under the Queen's indignation, and further punishment, at her pleasure. From Okinge.' So she could be firm, if she liked, and if necessity demanded it. And she was quite right: if the royal children had got the plague, woe betide Katharine when King Henry returned! However, the isolation was successful, and they all kept well.

Boulogne surrendered to Henry after hard fighting; he entered it in triumph on September 18th 1544. His Council, at Katharine's command, issued an order for a general thanksgiving in all the towns and villages throughout England. This was one of the last acts of Katharine's regency, for the King returned to England on October 1st, finding it impossible to follow up his victory by a further campaign in France, because his Spanish allies had made a separate peace with Francis I.

The King's return put an end, at least, to Katharine's anxiety for the safety of her brother, her sister's husband, her former lover, Seymour, and her present husband. After all, she had had all her nearest relations in considerable danger; and, reflecting on this, one can better understand the beautiful prayer for the safety of the troops and success of their arms, which she wrote when they went to France, and caused to be used in all the churches of England whilst the fighting continued. It is impossible to separate Katharine from her religion in writing of her or considering her character; it was part of her, and had to be reckoned with in everything she

did, and in all the decisions she had to make. It influenced not only her whole life, but the lives of those around her: even Henry hesitated over his slayings and burnings, when he discussed them with her first. It was, actually and in fact, her guiding principle.

CHAPTER VI

Plots and Dangers

KATHARINE'S increasing influence with the King, added to that which she had over the mind of little Edward, the future king, aroused feelings of jealousy and alarm amongst the party supporting the Roman Catholic religion, and even in those who professed to agree with Henry in the reformation of the Church.

Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, was the cleverest and most malignant of these, having been already responsible for the death of Katharine Howard, and for the breach of faith with Anne of Cleves. He, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, waited and planned for a moment when Katharine should be in their power. Her conduct and personality were such that no case could ever have been made on a moral issue, but they thought to catch her out on her religious opinions. In these, she was opposed to her husband's arbitrary ideas — and Henry got more arbitrary every day. He made a speech to Parliament, in which he said: 'And, although you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed to you so to do, only to inform your conscience, your children, and families, and not to dispute, and make Scripture a railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung and jangled in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same.' This is quoted from the *Journals of Parliament*. Looking at it from this distance of time, one cannot help sympathizing with Henry's point of view. Public disputations between the "gospellers" and the priests, or even among the clergy, were considered irreverent and unallowable in the Roman Church, and (it is to be remembered) it was in the teaching of this Church they had all been brought up. There was something almost indecent to them in dragging religion into

the market place and the public houses. Henry, therefore, made a rigorous re-enforcement of his Six Articles.

The persecution that ensued in the spring and summer of 1546 took heavy toll of the moving spirits in the new Protestantism. Amongst others was the young, beautiful, and learned Anne Askew. She was a lady of good family, the Askew family coming from the Furness district¹ near Ulverston. It is strange that near there, at Swarthmoor Hall, George Fox, the Quaker, preached more than a hundred years afterwards. Anne Askew became a convert to the new faith, and, for that cause, her husband, Mr. Kyme, drove her violently out of the house.² She resumed her maiden name, and spent her time furthering the Protestant cause.

¹ This district is also remarkable for the remains of Piel Castle; early in 1588 this apparently caused anxiety to the local people, in view of the trouble brewing in Spain. I quote: 'The same Pylle is an old decayed castell of the dowchie of Lancaster in furness felles, wher one Thomas Prestone, Papshe Atheiste is deputye sterarde . . . What the Spanyerds meanes to do the Lorde knowes', etc. . . . There is no mention of any preparation in view of the Spanish Armada landing here.

With regard to local history and this period, although it is long after the death of Katharine Parr, it is interesting to note that a certain Cardinal Allen (born in Kendal, died at Rossall near Liverpool) is said to have been a moving spirit in the intrigues both in England and in Spain, with regard to Philip and the Spanish Armada. It is said that, if the Armada had been successful, Cardinal Allen had hoped to have been made Archbishop of Canterbury under a Roman Catholic organization of the Church in England. A very fine portrait of him is in the Mayor's Parlour in the Town Hall, Kendal.

² The Kymes of Lincolnshire were a family descended from a Yorkshire branch of the Tailbois family, connected with the co-lateral relations of Ivo Tailbois, husband of the first owner of the Kendal Barony. In 1529 Henry VIII created one of the Kymes Lord Tailbois of Kyme, at the time he married Elizabeth Blount, who had been one of Henry VIII's mistresses, and was reputedly a very beautiful woman.

One notices the same 'time serving' instinct in the Mr. Kyme who, having married the young and beautiful Anne Askew from Furness on the Cumberland border, turned her out of his house, and disowned her, because of her preference for the Protestant reformers.

It was soon known that the Queen's sister, Lady Herbert, also Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, and other great ladies of the court had to do with Anne Askew; even worse, the Queen herself had received books from her in the presence of Lady Herbert, Lady Tyrwhitt, and the youthful Lady Jane Grey, which might bring her Majesty under the penalty of the statute against reading heretical books. This caused Anne Askew to be singled out for the purpose of terrifying, or torturing, her into confessions that might furnish a charge of heresy or treason against her royal mistress. The unexpected firmness of Anne under Wriothsley's vindictive fury baffled this design. It was thought that the donors of the money which had been sent to Anne in prison were ladies of the Queen's bedchamber, and the Chancellor's inquisitorial cruelty was especially exercised in trying to extort the names of her secret friends. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* tells us this.³ It is said that Henry himself

³ It is interesting to notice that Anne Askew's relations owned Seaton Hall in the parish of Kirkby Ireleth, and the accompanying story shows their connection with the court of Henry VIII, and also gives us the clue to the story (extant at the time) that the Throgmorton family were the ones who took money, said to have been presents from Katharine Parr and the royal ladies, to the unfortunate Anne Askew when she was in prison, before she was burnt. Obviously, if Sir Hugh Askew was in charge of the royal cellar, he would be in daily contact with Nicholas Throgmorton, who was cup bearer to Katharine Parr, both at the time of Anne Askew's trial, and death, and also at Sudeley Castle, during the time she was married to Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley. I have found this quaint little story of Henry and his Cellarer in a book by Edmund Sandford, written about 1675, and re-edited and printed by Robert Ferguson in 1890: 'Fflower miles southwards stands Seaton, an estate of 500 li P. an: sometimes a Religious house: gott by one Sir Hugo Askew yeoman of the seller unto Queen Catherin. This must, I think have been Catherin of Aragon in Henry the Eights Time and borne in this Country. And when That Queen was deforced from her husband: This yeoman was destitute: And he applied himself for help to Lo: Chamberlain for some place or other in the Kings service: The Lord Stewart knew him well: because he had helpt him to a cup wine the best but told him he had no place for him: but a Charcole carrier: Well quoth this Monsir Askew "help me with one foot and let me gett in the other as I can": And upon a great holiday the

ordered Anne to be stretched on the rack. The lieutenant of the Tower tried to intervene; but Wriothesley threw off his gown and twisted the rack tighter and tighter. The lieutenant of the Tower took boat to the palace, saw the King, and related the disgusting scene. Henry expressed displeasure, but neither punished the perpetrator, nor stopped the further sentence of burning. Two of the King's gentlemen were condemned to be burnt at the same time, for being mixed up with the "gospellers." Altogether they burned three men and Anne Askew. Wriothesley sat on a bench by St. Bartholomew's church and watched them burn.

The Queen's sufferings can be imagined. She could do nothing about it. Daily the plots thickened, and the net was being drawn in about her. They secretly denounced Lady Herbert, the Queen's sister, for controvening the King's edict regarding the reading of 'heretical works'. This was a subtle prelude for an attack on the Queen herself, for when Henry had reason to suppose she received and read books forbidden by his statute, then he was prepared to treat every difference of opinion in the light not only of heresy, but treason.

We have mentioned that Katharine appointed Miles Coverdale to the office of her Almoner; his work on the translation of the New Testament is well known. The learned Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton School, was employed by Katharine to edit the translations of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* on the four gospels, in which

King, looking out at some sports, Askew got a cortier, a frinde of his, to stand before the King and then he got on his vellet cassock and his gold chine: and baskett of Chercols on his back, and marched the Kings sight with it. "Oh" saith the King "now I like yonder fellow well that disdains not to doe his dirty office in his Dainty clothes: what is he?": Says his frinde that stood by on purpose "It is Mr. Askew what was yeoman oth cellar to the Late Queens Matie and now glad of this poore place to keep him in your Majesties service, which he will not forsake for all the world." The Kinge says: "I had the best wine when he was ith cellar: he is a gallant wine Taster, let him have his place againe" and afterwards Kighted (*sic*) him. And he sold his place, and married the daughter of Sir John Hiddleston and setled this Seaton Hall upon her.'

Princess Mary was induced to take an active share. About 1840 an unknown authoress, calling herself 'Charlotte Elizabeth', published a book of essays or tracts on various subjects, of which a fragment on Katharine Parr remains. In it she says: 'I have before me a venerable looking volume which bears on its pages a high testimony to the zealous co-operation of Queen Katharine in the Protestant labours of the youthful Edward. It contains the historical books of the New Testament, with the *Paraphrase* of Erasmus, translated into English under the superintendence of that royal lady, and *printed during her lifetime*, in 1545, at Katharine's sole expense. Nicholas Udall wrote the preface. The animated tribute therein rendered to the Queen by its editor shows that, to some, at least, of her adherents it appeared as a miracle that Henry's heart should have changed from its evil design and shown him her goodness, in such a way as to save her from "the snare of the hunter" at a critical moment.' And the snare was indeed being drawn in round about her.

None of Henry's advisers had ever dared to tell him the truth about his personal conduct, his divorces, or his government. He was very touchy about his Six Articles of religion, and was, at last, exceedingly displeased that his queen should presume to doubt the infallibility of his opinions. We can suppose (backed by historical authority) that Katharine was much better read and a great deal more intellectual than her husband was. She had studied theology all her life, which could hardly be said of Henry! One day she ventured, in the presence of Bishop Gardiner, to remonstrate with him on the proclamation he had recently put forth, forbidding the use of a translation of the Scriptures which he had previously licensed. At this moment Henry's leg was more than usually troublesome; it was ulcerated, and his temper the worse in consequence. The King cut her short in her arguments. The Queen, after making a few pleasant observations on other subjects, withdrew.

'A good hearing it is,' burst out Henry, as soon as she had left the room, 'when women become such clerks;

and much to my comfort to come, in mine old age, to be taught by my wife!' Foxe quotes this.

Bishop Gardiner availed himself of this scornful sally to insinuate things against the Queen which, before, he dare not have suggested, 'for' (says a contemporary author) 'never handmaid sought more to please her mistress than she to please his humour; and she was of singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, wherin the King greatly delighted'.

But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, and other of the King's Privy Chamber practised her death 'that they might the better stop the passage of the gospel; yet they durst not speak to the King touching her, because they saw he loved her so well'. Now that she had hurt his self-esteem, he was ready to listen to anything said against her. He forgot her loyalty, and her patient nursing, her affectionate care of his children: all went before his pampered egotism. Gardiner flattered him, and told him 'that his Majesty excelled the princes of that and every other age, as well as all the professed Doctors of Divinity, in so much that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly as the Queen had just done. That it was grievous for any of his councillors to hear it done, since those who were so bold in words would not scruple to proceed to acts of disobedience.' In short, he and his fellow schemers so filled Henry's distrustful mind with fears, that he gave them warrant 'to consult together about the drawing of articles against the Queen, *wherin her life might be touched*. They thought it best to begin with such ladies as she most esteemed, and were privy to all her doings, as the Lady Herbert, her sister, the Lady Jane Grey (still almost a child), and the Lady Tyrwhitt, all of her privy chamber, and to accuse them of the Six Articles and to search their closets (cupboards) and coffers (oak chests) that they might find somewhat to charge the Queen, who, if that were the case, should be taken and carried by night in a barge to the Tower, of which advice the King was made privy by Gardiner. This purpose was so finely handled, that it grew within a

few days of the time appointed, and the poor Queen suspected nothing, but, after her accustomed manner, visited the King, still to deal with him touching religion as before.'

When Katharine's life, literally, hung on a thread, an extraordinary thing happened. The bill of articles which had been framed against her, together with the mandate for her arrest, dropped from the breast of Wriothesley's coat (or fell out of his pocket) in the gallery at Whitehall, after the King had signed them. One of the Queen's attendants picked the document up, and instantly took it to her. She was much beloved by all around her, and the one who picked up the bill was as struck with horror as Katharine herself must have been when she read the contents. She very naturally concluded she was to be added to the list of the other conjugal victims, and she went into hysterics. Probably she could not help it at first, but possibly she may have thought (as her room opened into the King's) that the continued noise would draw out some question from him, which might prove to open a way for an explanation of his appalling intentions. As the noise continued for many hours, the King, either moved with pity (or incommoded by the noise), sent to ask what was the matter? Dr. Wendy, Katharine's doctor, having penetrated the cause of the trouble, informed the King's messenger that 'the Queen was dangerously ill, and that it appeared that her sickness was caused by distress of mind'. When the King heard this, he was either moved by unwonted compunction, or reminded, by two days' lack of her services, how much he depended on her skill in nursing; at any rate, he had himself carried in a chair into Katharine's room, where he found her heavy and melancholy, and apparently at the point of death. He evinced much sympathy, and seemed really alarmed at the idea of losing her. She thanked him for honouring her so much with a visit 'which', she assured him, 'had greatly revived and rejoiced her'. In short, Katharine, during the rest of this interview, behaved in so humble and endearing a manner, and so completely adapted herself to the humour of her imperious lord, that, in the

excitement caused by the reaction of his feelings, he betrayed to her doctor the secret of the plot against her life. The physician did his best to bring about a reconciliation, according to Soame's *History*.

The next evening the Queen was sufficiently recovered to return the King's visit, and was escorted to his bed-chamber by her sister, Lady Herbert, and Lady Jane Grey, who carried the candles before her Majesty. Lady Jane was only nine years old at that time, but held some office of state in the chamber of Katharine Parr, according to Speed's *Chronicles*. Henry welcomed her very courteously, but presently turned the conversation to the old subject of controversy, for the purpose of beguiling her into an argument. Katharine adroitly avoided the snare by observing that she was but a woman, and in all matters of doubt and difficulty she must refer herself to his Majesty's better judgment, as to her lord and head, 'for so God hath appointed you,' continued she, 'as the supreme head of us all, and of you, next unto God, will I ever learn.'

'Not so, by St. Mary,' said the King. 'Ye are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed of us, as oft-times we have seen.'

'Indeed,' replied the Queen, 'if your Majesty have so conceived, my meaning has been mistaken, for I have always held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her lord; and if I have ever presumed to differ with your highness on religion, it was partly to obtain information for my own comfort, regarding certain nice points on which I stood in doubt, and sometimes because I perceived that, in talking, you were better able to pass away the pain and weariness of your present infirmity, which encouraged me to this boldness, in the hope of profiting by your Majesty's learned discourse.'

'And it is so, sweetheart?' replied the King. 'Then we are perfect friends.' He then kissed her with much tenderness and gave her leave to depart.

On the day appointed for the arrest, the King, being convalescent, sent for the Queen to take the air with him in the garden. Katharine came, attended, as before, by her sister, Lady Herbert, little Lady Jane Grey, and



Arrival of Bishop Gardiner and pikemen to take away Katharine

facing p. 37

Lady Tyrwhitt, who was a daughter of Katharine's first husband, Lord Brough. She was one of the three ladies included in the bill of indictment prepared by Gardiner and Wriothsesley against the Queen.

I have added here a queer old print of the scene at Hampton Court. It is dated 1840, and was published along with the pamphlet by 'Charlotte Elizabeth', who possessed an original copy of the translation of Erasmus's paraphrases from the Bible. One must not take too literally the Victorian dress in which this picture clothes Katharine's sister, stepdaughter, and even herself! But it does give an idea of the dramatic scene, when Wriothsesley, the Lord Chancellor, with forty of the guard entered the garden, expecting to carry the Queen off to the Tower. Not the slightest intimation had reached him of the change of mind of the capricious monarch.

Henry met him at some little distance from where the Queen was standing, and a conversation in a low tone ensued, which the Queen and her ladies could not hear. Then they heard the King's voice exclaim indignantly, 'Beast! Fool! Knave!' Pulling Wriothsesley away from the vicinity of the Queen, Henry bade him 'avaunt from his presence'.

Katharine, when she saw how vexed the King was with him, said magnanimously 'that she would become a humble suitor for him, as she deemed his fault was occasioned by mistake'.

'Ah, poor soul!' exclaimed the King, 'thou little knowest how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave.'

Katharine persuaded Henry to overlook the part Wriothsesley had taken in this affair; but he never forgave Gardiner, whose name was struck off the Privy Council book, and he was forbidden to come into the King's presence. I have often wondered why the King bore with Gardiner so long, but find in Richard Davey's book, *The Sisters of Lady Jane Grey*, that he was a cousin, although distant, of Henry VIII. It seems that Gardiner's mother was the illegitimate daughter and only child of the daughter of Jasper Tudor (or Tidder), one

of the sons of Owen Tudor. It seems, also, that afterwards Lady Katharine Grey was contracted in marriage to the Earl of Pembroke's (Lord Herbert's) son and Katharine Parr's nephew. This never came to a marriage, as when Jane Grey was beheaded, Lord Herbert repudiated it, and sent poor little (thirteen-years-old) Lady Katharine home.

To continue: Gardiner presented himself on the terrace at Windsor, in spite of Henry's prohibition. The King turned fiercely to his Chancellor and said, 'Did I not command you that *he* should come no more among you?'

'My lord of Winchester,' replied Wriothesley, 'has come to wait upon your highness with the offer of a benevolence from his clergy.'

This was touching the right note — for money never came amiss to the rapacious monarch. Henry condescended to receive the address and accept the bribe, but took no further notice of the Bishop than to strike his name out of the list of his executors. The name of Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, was cancelled too, 'because', he said, 'the latter was schooled by Gardiner', so careful was the King to leave in the council of his successor no power of influence from those who had plotted the murder of his innocent wife.

It is said Henry exhibited many public marks of his fondness for Katharine in his latter days. Some of them must have been of an embarrassing nature, as when he insisted on laying his sore leg on her lap in the presence of the lords and ladies-in-waiting, sometimes even before the whole Court!

These last months were stained with the blood of one of the most accomplished noblemen and authors of his time, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. The Norfolk Howards were papists, and so at cross purposes with the Seymour-Somerset-Herbert (Earl of Pembroke) party, who backed Henry's reformed religion and Six Articles against the Pope and the Howards. It is all part of the trouble called the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the suppression of the monasteries; it is, in fact, the reforming of the Church of England, commonly called the Reformation. Surrey was beheaded on January 19th

1547, and Henry lay on his death bed at the time. The August before, three clerks were appointed to sign any documents for the King, two of them to impress a dry stamp on the vellum, and the third to fill up the impression with a pen and ink. This stamp was affixed to Surrey's death warrant in Henry's presence.

The last act of Henry's life was to despatch a messenger to the lieutenant of the Tower with an order for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, for whom a similar warrant with Henry's seal had been made. This was on the evening of January 26th; but another irrevocable edict had been made, this time in heaven, and touching the life of the King: the King was to die before the warrant for the death of Norfolk could be carried out, so he remained 'peaceably in the Tower' during the whole of the reign of Edward VI, and was amongst the first prisoners released by Queen Mary Tudor. His character was said to be brutal, and he is supposed to have been a man of ill repute. C. R. L. Fletcher remarks that he was 'merely a tool of his great but brutal master'.

The historian Harpsfield says that, in dying, Henry was 'beset with horrors and remorse of conscience'. He would see no one but Archbishop Cranmer, but, before he could arrive, Henry was speechless. Cranmer besought him to testify by some sign to his hope in the saving mercy of Christ. The King regarded him steadily for a moment, wrung his hand, and then expired, exclaiming, 'All is lost!' These were his last words. The same author avers that Henry was preparing an accusation against the Queen on the old charge of heresy, which was only prevented by his death. It seems that the historians of the period all make the remark that it was only by good luck that she was the survivor.

Henry died on the morning of January 28th 1547 at the palace of Westminster, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign and the fifty-sixth of his age. His death was kept secret until Hertford, Duke of Somerset (Sir Thomas Seymour's brother), called 'Lord Protector', had obtained possession of the person of his royal nephew, now

young King Edward VI, and arranged plans for securing the government of the kingdom in his name. Parliament was told on Monday, the last day of January, by Wriothesley, the Chancellor, who pretended great grief. A part of Henry's will was then read by Sir William Paget, Secretary of State, and Parliament was then dissolved.

The Queen expressed great surprise on learning that she was not appointed to the regency of the kingdom, and the care of the person of the young king. In this will Henry places the children he may have by his Queen Katharine Parr in order of succession immediately after his only son, Edward, giving them precedence over the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. This is what he said about Katharine: 'And for the great love, obedience, chastity of life, and wisdom being in our fore-named wife and queen, we bequeath unto her, for her proper life, and as it shall please her to order it, three thousand pounds in plate, jewels, and stuff of household goods, and such apparel as it shall please her to take of such as we have already. And further, we give unto her one thousand pounds in money, and the amount of her dower and jointure according to our grant in Parliament.' Henry's will provided a council of sixteen to govern during his son's minority; but Somerset and Paget set this aside, and arranged for Somerset to continue to be Protector.

Katharine had been amply dowered by Parliament and by the King's (letters) patent: she also had large dowers from her two first husbands. She was supposed to have made great savings whilst she was queen consort. After the death of the King, she was prayed for by Gardiner in the presence of Edward VI in the following manner: 'I commend to God, Queen Katharine, dowager, my lady Mary's grace, and my lady Elizabeth's grace, your Majesty's dear sisters.' On February 7th 1547 little Edward wrote a Latin letter of condolence to his widowed stepmother, superscribed *Reginæ Katharinæ*, calling her his dear mother, and concluding, 'Farewell, venerated Queen'.

Apparently Henry only acknowledged two wives (out

of his six), and those were Jane Seymour (little King Edward's mother), and Katharine Parr. The banners with the coats of arms of these two queens were carried at his funeral, Katharine's including, first, the royal one given her as queen; secondly, the Parrs of Kendal; thirdly, the Rooses of Kendal; fourthly, Marmion; fifthly, Fitz Hugh; sixthly, Green.

CHAPTER VII

Brief Widowhood and the Fourth Marriage

DURING the short period of her widowhood, Katharine lived in a house at Chelsea built on the spot now called Cheyne Pier. It had beautiful gardens, and Faulkener states that at the time she lived at Chelsea Palace there was only one proper road in the village, which was a private way to the royal residence across the open fields; it crossed a foot bridge, called in ancient records Blandel Bridge.

Across this bridge Thomas Seymour regularly made his way to renew his addresses to Katharine. As Seymour was a member of the late king's household, and had been appointed by Henry's will one of the council of regency during the minority of the young king, he was able to find many opportunities of seeing Katharine, even before Henry was buried (which was not until February 16th) and before she moved into her Chelsea home. Edward VI made him Lord Sudeley, the name coming from the estate of Sudeley Castle granted to him by Henry, of which Katharine writes afterwards that she expects the King (Edward VI) may withdraw the grant and call in the land.

It is to be remembered that Seymour bought Helsington Laithes for Katharine; it was not one of Henry's gifts. When she married Henry, he sold it at once to Alan Bellingham,¹ brother (or cousin) of the Elizabeth Bellingham who was brought up with Katharine, and was for a time at her court.

Seymour managed to make Katharine believe he was still a bachelor 'for her sake'. She knew nothing of the splendid alliances he had tried, but failed, to make; she knew nothing of his loose habits, or of his gambling — which is strange, for he used to gamble with the King, and lose and win large sums, according to the Exchequer

¹ His figure, cut out in brass, is still on his tomb-stone moved to the North E. corner of Kendal Parish Church.



QUEEN KATHARINE PARR

after a portrait by Holbein

*The following is the inscription on the original painting :
To Dawson Turner Esq., A.M., F.R.S., This print from a painting
now in his possession but which had remained till the last ten years
uninterruptedly in the Parr Family is respectfully inscribed by his
very humble servant W. C. Edwards.*

records. However, such is life: she believed him, and the hold he always had over her was that she loved him. She was, for the third time, a widow; but she was only thirty-four or five; very good-looking as our picture shows; a beautiful woman with expressive hazel eyes and a ready wit; dowered with a great intellect; able to meet the most learned men of her time on their own ground. Truly she had much to give, and Seymour asked a good deal — in the end, too much. For the present, he insisted on an early marriage, but Katharine feared public opinion, and the law forbade a queen to remarry till three months had passed since the king's death. Seymour's insistence, however, overcame her scruples, and Leti says that thirty-four days after Henry's death a written contract of marriage and rings of betrothal were exchanged; but the marriage was not celebrated till some months later.

According to Edward VI's journal, this event took place in May, but it was certainly not made public till the end of June. June 25th is the date of a letter from the little King to Katharine, thanking her for accepting 'his suit moved to you' (*i.e.* he had been put forward to ask for a marriage between Thomas Seymour and Katharine, so that it should appear publicly *his* doing, and acceptable, and that there should be no riots, or troubles, on account of the late king's wife remarrying so soon). Also, Edward VI did not like his uncle Somerset (though he dare not say so, as he was in his power); but he did like Seymour, who was his uncle too, and he loved his stepmother, as his affectionate letters show. He sent Elizabeth to her care at Chelsea Palace: Edward was only ten years old at this time. Seymour induced the Marquis of Dorset, little Lady Jane Grey's father, to put her under his wardship and let her remain a pupil of Katharine. For some time she had planned a match for Lady Jane Grey with Edward VI, and had directed her education so as to make her a suitable companion for the royal scholar. These children (the boy at ten and the girl at nine years) knew as much as our children do when they are seventeen or eighteen, and knew it more thoroughly. The long hours of study

usually injured their health, and neither of these were strong children.

Somerset was vexed at his brother's marriage; and the Duchess of Somerset was openly rude to Katharine, refusing to bear her train at Edward's court. Then Somerset set going a long litigation over the jewels which Henry had willed her: he said they were 'crown jewels' and belonged to Edward. Katharine said they were presents to her, and were her own. Next, Somerset withheld the power over her property from her, and let one of her manors against her wish: she was naturally furious. To crown all, he got possession of some of her mother's property; none of these three lots was ever returned to her. At the end of August 1547, six months after Henry VIII died, it seems that Somerset led a large army into Scotland. He fought the Battle of Pinkie, and sacked Edinburgh on September 10th 1547. Large levies of men were raised for this all over England, and our own Border troops were called up to fight once more against the Scots.

After Katharine had been the wife of Seymour some nine months, there was a prospect of her becoming a mother. They were both enraptured. The Queen dowager was then at Hanworth, one of the manors belonging to her royal dower, and, according to evidence at Seymour's trial afterwards, it was here he 'carried on' with the Princess Elizabeth to the scandal of the household. Elizabeth herself was greatly to blame, being forward and flighty to a degree surprising in a girl of about fifteen. Comyns Beaumont in his lately published *Life of the Virgin Queen* asserts that, after Katharine Parr died, Elizabeth had a child by Seymour, and he quotes little Edward as telling her, 'Thou art a bad wench.' The child died, as no one knew how to look after it.

Katharine still believed that her husband was only flirting with Elizabeth, and took her along with them and their huge household train to Sudeley Castle, Seymour superintending the journey, by road of course; Katharine presumably in her own special 'litter' built for comfort (save the mark!) which she, in her kindness, had lent

to Princess Mary a short time earlier. Apparently Lady Jane Grey went with them; and Nicholas Throgmorton, her cousin; also the separated wife of her brother William Parr, Earl of Essex, she being under some kind of 'restraint' (whether for lunacy, or for running off with other people's husbands history does not relate). All this *cortège* settled in at Sudeley Castle, and an almost regal state was kept up, including morning and evening prayers, which, we are told, Seymour avoided and openly disliked. His life being what it was, this was, perhaps, only natural.

Seymour continued his flirtations with Elizabeth. One day her Majesty came suddenly upon them where they were alone, he having Elizabeth in his arms. Katharine was greatly offended with them both, and very sharply reproved the Princess's governess, Mrs. Ashley, for allowing her to fall into such reprehensible freedom of behaviour. Conjugal jealousy apart, Katharine had great cause for alarm, as she was responsible for the Princess and great blame would, of course, attach to herself if harm happened to Elizabeth, especially if the Admiral, for whose sake she had already outraged public opinion, were the author of her young stepdaughter's ruin. Without making what would now be called a 'scene', the Princess Elizabeth was immediately sent away with her own private household. Katharine continued to write to her. A letter of Elizabeth's, written only six weeks before Katharine's death, shows that no quarrel existed between them. It is, perhaps, an 'over-familiar' letter, hiding in its would-be jocularly a shyness she dare not divulge.

A few days before her confinement Katharine received a kind letter from Princess Mary, written from Beaulieu on August 9th 1548, telling her that her brother, William Parr (now Marquis of Northampton) was coming on from her to see Katharine. As his 'guilty and unhappy wife' was at Sudeley, this must have caused her hostess some dismay, as nothing but a succession of quarrels was likely to ensue between them — all very trying for Katharine at such a time. Whether he came, and what happened, we do not know.

On August 30th 1548 Katharine's baby arrived. It

was a girl. As Somerset says in his letter of congratulation, 'it would have been more joy and comfort if it had been a son', and so thought his brother, the child's father. We do not know what Katharine thought; but it is likely that she still did not realize the enormity of both Elizabeth's behaviour and her husband's. That realization came later, and I think it killed her. To add to her other troubles, her brother's 'bad' wife, ex Lady Parr, Countess of Essex, is said by one historian to have died at Sudeley Castle, whilst in the charge of Katharine Parr. If this is so, it must have been during these three weeks and after her husband saw her there about August 9th and before the Queen dowager's child was born on August 30th, unless she stayed on in the house after Katharine's death, and it is not likely that Seymour would allow that.

Though the baby daughter had arrived safely, after three days the mother showed signs of illness. Many historians have repeated remarks which were evidently rife at the time, to wit, that Seymour poisoned her, hinting that he aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. This aspiration was probably at the back of his mind; but, from the accounts of what happened, we cannot suppose that poison killed her. Puerperal fever set in, and in those days (in fact, until quite recently) there was no remedy. There can be no doubt that this state was made much worse by her discovery, in a conversation with her family doctor, that Elizabeth was actually pregnant. The following conversation with Lady Tyrwhitt (her stepdaughter by her first marriage, née Brough) explains the horror of Katharine's position. She now knew she was liable to be arraigned for high treason against the person of the heir apparent to the throne, and the culprit was her own husband.

'Two days before the death of the Queen,' says Lady Tyrwhitt, 'at my coming to her in the morning, she asked me where I had been so long, and said unto me that she did fear such things in herself that she was sure she could not live. I answered, as I thought, that I saw no likelihood of death in her. She then, having my Lord Admiral by the hand, and divers other standing by, spake these words, partly, as I took, idly (meaning in delirium): "My lady Tyrwhitt, I am not well handled;

for those that be about me care not for me, but stand laughing at my grief, and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me." Whereunto my lord Admiral answered, "Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt." and she said to him again, aloud, "No, my lord, I think so," and immediately she said to him in his ear, "But, my lord, you have given me many shrewd taunts." These words I perceived she spake with good memory and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore disquieted. My lord Admiral, perceiving that I had heard it, called me aside and asked me what she said, and I declared it plainly to him. Then he consulted with me that he would lie down on the bed by her, to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication, whereunto I agreed; and by the time he had spoken three or four words to her, she answered him roundly and sharply, saying, "My lord, I would have given a thousand marks to have had my full talk with Hewyke (Doctor Huick) the first day I was delivered, but I durst not for displeasing you." And I, hearing that, perceived her trouble to be so great that my heart would serve to hear no more. Such like communications she had with him the space of an hour, which they did hear that sat by her bedside.'

On the very day when the scene, described by Lady Tyrwhitt, occurred, Katharine Parr dictated her will, which is still extant in the Prerogative Office. It is dated September 5th 1548, and it is to the following effect: That she, then lying on her death-bed, sick of body, but of good mind, and perfect memory and discretion, being persuaded, and perceiving the extremity of death to approach her, gives all to her married espouse and husband, wishing them to be a thousand times more in value than they were, or been. There are no legacies; and the witnesses are two well-known historical characters, Robert Huick, M.D., and John Parkhurst, the former her doctor, the latter her chaplain, who became subsequently a bishop of the reformed church highly distinguished for his Christian virtues. In after life Parkhurst always spoke of Katharine Parr with great regard as his 'most gentle mistress'.

Death came on the second day after the date of her will. She was only in the thirty-sixth year of her age. A contemporary, quoted by Strype, described her character: 'She was endued with a pregnant wittiness, joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of human discipline as also of the Holy Scripture; of incomparable chastity which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness and contemning vain pastimes.'

The College of Arms possesses a curious contemporary manuscript of the ceremonial and arrangements for her funeral at Sudeley Castle. Lady Jane Grey, only about ten years old, was chief mourner. This account says that Katharine was 'cered and chested in lead', which means that the body was wrapped tightly in a number of waxed cloths, and then in sheet lead, fitted to her body. There was a long procession (for she had about 200 people attached to her person), including the herald with her coat of arms displayed. The gentlemen seem to have worn 'black gowns with their hoods on their heads'. No mention is made of Seymour, either as such, or under his new name of Lord Sudeley. One supposes he was there. It is noteworthy that the psalms, lessons, sermon by Bishop Coverdale, and the *Te Deum* were all said in *English*, not Latin. It finishes (as do so many funerals!): 'All this done, the mourners dined, and the rest returned homewards again. All which aforesaid was done in a morning.' This is said to have been the first funeral solemnized according to Protestant rites.

Dr. Parkhurst (afterwards Bishop of Norwich) wrote her epitaph in Latin: this translation is by an anonymous author:

'In this new tomb the royal Katharine lies,
Flower of her sex, renownèd, great, and wise;
A wife by every nuptial virtue known,
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.
To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields—
Seymour, who Neptune's trident justly wields.
From him a beauteous daughter bless'd her arms,
An infant copy of her parent's charms;
When now seven days this infant flower had bloom'd,
Heaven in its wrath the mother's soul resumed.'

CHAPTER VIII

The End of the Story

KATHARINE PARR'S will was proved on December 6th 1548. It is what was called a 'muncupative' or verbal will: it was not signed by the dying Queen, which is said to have often been the case with death-bed royal wills of that period. After it was proved, Seymour set to work to try to get back Katharine's jewels and property which his brother had retained at the death of Henry VIII. He even tried to get Princess Mary to back him up in his plea to Somerset (his own brother) and the Council of Regency. But Mary was too astute to be drawn into political quarrels, and merely bears testimony to 'the great love and affection that her late lord and father did bear unto her grace Queen Katharine'. Wightman, one of the Admiral's servants, tells us that his master made great search among Queen Katharine's papers at her late residence at Hanworth in the hope of finding some evidence that Henry really had given those valuable jewels to his sixth wife. Seymour spoke to Wightman of 'the great sort of old papers belonging to the late Queen Katharine', and it is to be feared he recklessly destroyed as useless to him (and perhaps dangerous) many letters and records of her life as queen, and also of both her marriages, and her girlhood days at Kendal. How nice it would be to have that correspondence now to read! Others of her letters perished in the great fire at Wilton Court near Salisbury, the home of her sister, the Countess of Pembroke.

The charge that was brought up, when Seymour was on trial for usurping, or trying to usurp, his brother's position as Lord Protector, that he poisoned his wife Katharine was thought to have been put forward to induce little King Edward to sign the death warrant. He had always been devoted to Katharine and preferred Seymour to his brother the Protector, Somerset; but, thinking this man had done away with his much loved

stepmother, he signed the warrant for Seymour's execution. We now know from Mr. Comyns Beaumont's book that the lad knew and had reproved his sister Elizabeth when the baby by Seymour was born. This, then, was the real charge of Seymour's death, his conduct with Princess Elizabeth; but this could not be made public without implicating Elizabeth and publishing the matter abroad, as well as in England, which would naturally detract from her matrimonial chances as heir apparent (after Mary). They therefore brought the charge against Seymour on the head of trying to supplant the Lord Protector and of poisoning his wife. Indeed, he probably did kill her, but by the shock of his moral iniquities coming to his wife's knowledge just at the time her child was born. So, on both counts, Seymour's execution was not as unjust as it looked. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on March 20th 1549. Latimer said in his sermon on this occasion: 'Whether he be saved or not, I leave it to God; but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him.'

The little baby left by Katharine was called Mary. When her father was beheaded (six months after his wife died), an Act of Attainder was passed and this deprived the child of Seymour's property. But Katharine's possessions ought by right to have passed to the child, if only she had not made the will leaving her own very large estates to her husband. In this way my Lord Protector Somerset retained the double property in the young King Edward's name. Little baby Mary had nothing except the furnishings of her two nurseries and a few silver cups and plates for her food. Somerset kept the baby at his house at Sion for a short time and then, at her father's dying request, she was sent to Grims-thorpe, in Lincolnshire, to be under the care of Katharine, dowager Duchess of Suffolk, who had been a lifelong friend of Katharine Parr. With the nine-months-old baby went her 'governess', Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants. The train appears to have included 'two milch beasts, which were belonging to the nursery, the which it may please your grace (Somerset) to wite (know) may be bestowed upon the two

maids towards their marriages, which shall be shortly. The Duchess of Suffolk writes to Cecil: 'The queen's child hath lain, and yet doth lie, at my house, with her company about her, wholly at my charges.' She goes on to say she had written to Somerset for an allowance for the child's expenses: the servants are clamouring for their wages, she says. Lady Somerset sent her word by Richard Bertie (whom the Duchess of Suffolk afterwards married) that at her, Lady Somerset's, request, the Protector had agreed to send some of the silver plate belonging to the nursery. Therefore she encloses a list of what should come for the child, according (and as I suppose) to the governess's statement. The above letter is endorsed: 'To my loving friend Mr. Cecil, attendant upon my lord Protector's grace. Anno 2, Ed. VI.'

This Mr. Cecil was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, so famous in Elizabeth's reign. At this time he had been for two years Somerset's private secretary, and C. R. L. Fletcher says 'Somerset reposed complete trust in him'. So now we see why the dowager Duchess of Suffolk appealed to Cecil; yet another reason being, that he had married (twice successively) the sister of little Edward's tutors; first, Cheke's sister who died three years later, and then Cooke's, who at that time was tutor to the King. Another of the Cooke sisters was Lady Bacon who brought up Francis Bacon, now, according to Mr. Comyns Beaumont, known to have been Elizabeth's son by Leicester, and to have been the actual character behind the name of Will Shakespeare. The learning of these people was colossal: England was truly having its Renaissance.

The Duchess of Suffolk rightly supposed that, if the retention of baby Mary's belongings got to the ears of the King, he might well reason with Somerset on the matter. Eventually some part of the costly hangings and nursery furniture was returned to the child with a few pieces of silver; but no money provision appears ever to have been made, either now or later, for her, from the huge fortune which should have been hers. Various historians have said she died at an early age; but it remained to Miss Agnes Strickland to unearth the

true facts about the later history of this little daughter of Katharine Parr.

It seems that Sir William Parr, Earl of Essex, joined with Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk, in editing and publishing Katharine Parr's devotional works, but neither of them was anxious to have the large suite of the little Lady Mary Seymour. When Thomas Seymour was beheaded, Edward VI granted Sudeley to William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Katharine Parr's brother.¹ An Act of Parliament was made for disinheriting little Lady Mary Seymour. Her aunt Anne, Countess of Pembroke, died in 1551, so she could not have been brought up there. It is thought she remained with Katharine, dowager Duchess of Suffolk, who asked for help to secure some income for small Mary.

This Duchess of Suffolk was Charles Brandon's fourth wife, and had been his ward. She was an heiress and rich, and, when his third wife, Mary Tudor, died, he married this girl, Katharine Willowby d'Eresby; she was fifteen then in 1534. Mary Tudor died in 1533, but she is credited with marrying her groom, Adrian Stokes, which is on the tombstone of her daughter, Frances Brandon. Mary Tudor is said to have left Adrian Stokes large estates in Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and he had under his charge his stepdaughter, the Lady Mary Grey (Frances Brandon's third daughter). He subsequently married Anne, widow of the Nicholas Throgmorton, who was Katharine's 'cup bearer' after she married Seymour, and had been a family friend all her life. Katharine, fourth Duchess of Suffolk, had two sons by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who inherited the title but died young of 'sweating sickness'. They were said to be uncommonly clever lads. Her husband died in 1545 at Guildford Castle, lent to him and his wife by William Parr of Kendal. This Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk, married her secretary, Mr. Richard Bertie, when

¹ Before his first wife died he had divorced her; and a special Act of Parliament was passed illegitimizing his children by her, as he hoped to have children by his second marriage. But this wife died childless. Much later on, in Elizabeth's reign, he married a third time, but there were no children of this marriage.

Katharine Parr's baby was living with her. When Edward VI died in 1553, she and her husband were obliged to fly to the Continent, he being a more aggressive Protestant, even, than she was. At the same time, James Pilkington, vicar of Kendal, also had to go abroad, and for the same reason. Queen Mary persecuted the Protestants and burned many. Mr. and Mrs. Bertie returned to England in 1558 (or 1559), as Elizabeth was Mrs. Bertie's warm friend.¹

What happened to baby Mary (Seymour) during these five years we do not know; but probably Mrs. Aglionby, her governess, looked after her, and the house at Grims-thorpe as well. The Protector, Somerset, retained possession of Sudeley Castle (till he was beheaded in January 1552) in the name of King Edward VI, who made it over to Sir William Parr, Katharine's brother. He lost it when he was attainted in Mary's reign. In those days either attainted or beheaded persons forfeited their estates to the Crown, so little Mary did not get Sudeley Castle or anything else. The appended copy of an old document shows that Katharine Parr's daughter married Sir Edward Bushel. He was a gentleman-of-the-household to James I's wife, Anne of Denmark, and with nine other knights assisted in bearing her body to the grave.

Silas Johnson, by marriage with Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Bushel² and Lady Mary Seymour, obtained

¹ It would seem to have been her son, Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, the head of a Lincolnshire family, who was Lord High Admiral of England (1583 to 1642) and was made Earl of Lindsay in 1626. A Royalist, he was killed at the battle of Edgehill. The title of Lord Lindsay is still in the Bertie family.

The *old* title of Lindsey belonged to the descendents of Alice de Lancaster, of the Barony of Kendal. Her adventures read like a romance, and I am recounting them in the forthcoming book about Kendal castle and its Barony.

² The Bushels were a very old family being descended from one Roger Buissel, whose name is in Domesday Book. At one time they were Barons of Penwortham Castle, Lancashire; and some member of the family spelt 'Busli' was Lord of the Blackburn Hundreds.—From Battle Abbey Roll.

various relics of Katharine Parr's personal property, which continued in the Lawson family, their descendants, for nearly two centuries, till the death of the last of the line, Henry Johnson, Esq., of Lansdowne Crescent, Bath, by whom they were bequeathed to Miss Agnes Strickland, the historian. She describes them thus: 'A fine damask napkin which was evidently made for, and brought from Spain by, Katharine of Aragon, the first queen of Henry VIII; the beautiful pattern therein exhibits the spread eagle, with the motto *Plus oultre* four times; and on the dresses of four men blowing trumpets, attired in the Spanish garb as matadors, are the letters K.I.P. (probably intended for the initials of Katharine Infanta Princess); and this napkin, in the palace of Henry VIII must have passed through the hands of six queens, including Katharine Parr. The second relic is a medallion in bronze of the royal arms of England and France, countercharged; having a leopard and a dragon for supporters. This Mr. Lawson recollected being cut out of the centre of a large pewter dish: the table service in those times was usually pewter.'

Queen Katharine Parr was originally interred in the north side of the altar of the (then) splendid chapel of Sudeley, and an alabaster effigy was placed on her tomb. The chapel and tomb were desecrated and left in ruins by Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides, and remained so for nearly two centuries. When some excavations were made, her coffin was discovered, and on the lid is written:

K. P.

Here lyeth Quene
 Katharine VIth wife to Kyng
 Henry the VIIIth And
 after the wif of Thomas
 lord of Sudeley high
 Admyrall of England
 And vncler to Kyng
 Edward the VI
 She died
 September
 MCCCCC
 XLVIIJ

A Mr. Dent bought Sudeley Castle about 1860 and had the ruined chapel rebuilt, and Katharine's remains collected and put in a new coffin in a vault near the east window. And so she left this world at the comparatively early age of thirty-six.

Holbein has given us portraits: one in her youth, demure, and captivating; the other, a much older woman, but endowed with something more than a mere beauty of features. There is a kind of transparency about the face, through which her personality shines. Amidst brutality all around her, she was kind; in coarse and immoral days, she was admired for her purity; amongst all the disloyalty of the statecraft of the time, she stuck to her principles, when they might have, and nearly did, cost her her life.

Her huge estates (all gifts as a reward for her kindness to three old men) have been liquidated; her own family has died out. But she left us two things which are imperishable: her motto, and her name. She took this motto when King Henry had her coat of arms put with his, as queen of England. She appears to have quartered the Bruce lion with the Parr coat of arms, and to have used the royal lion of England as her crest, above the shield of the coat of arms. She took as her motto, *Utile quod facia* — To be of use in what I do. One thinks she carried it out.

Her name, Katharine, comes from the Greek *katharos* and means 'pure as a limpid stream'. Katharine's spirit, moving over the country of her life, rippled through the happy green pastures of childhood, over the stony ground of her first early marriage, till it reached the deeper banks of full maturity, finally crashing over huge rocks and boulders that beset her path, and falling in lovely cascades and waterfalls where the obstacles had seemed unsurmountable. There is such a stream running from my house down to the house Seymour bought for her; perhaps she wanders yet near it. But if you try to trace its course, you must go to the upland pastures, where its source is hidden in the sheer face of the rock from which it springs.

It is strange that Sir Thomas Gray, writing his *Scala Cronica* in 1355, says:

'As it is said that running water is the most powerful thing than can be, although so gentle and soft by nature, because all the particles of water take effect equally in the current, wherefore water pierces the hard rock. Just so it is with a nation which exerts itself with a single spirit to maintain the dignity of its lords, who desire nothing but the welfare of the community, and individually follow no other desire. In such a people a revolution is seldom seen, at least an overthrow of the estate of their lords, which is the greatest dishonour to the people.'

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